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ABSTRACT

A discussion of studies regarding 19th century college founding and survival, this paper provides insights into the factors that influence college survival today. It begins with Tewksbury's 1932 history of the founding of American colleges and universities before the Civil War. His book suggested that affiliation with a religious denomination was the major influence in these institutions' founding and survival. A subsequent study reexamined this theory, using the state of Oregon as a case study. An analysis of three periods in the history of Oregon's educational institutions (i.e., the pre-railroad era from 1840 to 1868, an era of growing community support from 1869 to 1904, and a period of increased state involvement from 1905 to 1932) found the following five influences greater than religious affiliation in determining college founding, control, and survival: (1) the effects of local boosterism, geographic location, and population density; (2) the rise of the middle class and its demand for practical education; (3) the development of regional, state, and national transportation systems; (4) the increased involvement and control of higher education by state government; and (5) Oregon's limited support for the development of public secondary schools and community colleges. Contains 22 references. A table of founding/closing dates and initial control of Oregon educational institutions is appended. (Contains 22 references.) (BCY)

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Running Head: COLLEGE FOUNDING AND SURVIVAL

From Willamette to Reed: Influences that encouraged founding and survival of early colleges in Oregon (1840-1932)

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From Willamette to Reed: Influences that encouraged founding and survival of early colleges in Oregon (1840-1932)

As the United States developed and expanded westward, so did the development and expansion of its colleges and universities. According to Donald G. Tewksbury (1932), in his book, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War: With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing Upon The College Movement,

> ...practically all the colleges founded between the Revolution and the Civil War were organized, supported, and in most cases controlled by religious interests. Thus it may be truly said that the 'denominational college' was the prevailing American college of the middle period of our history, as it was of the colonial period. (pp. 55-56)

Tewksbury's claim of religious influence on college founding and survival was derived from a study he conducted on the mortality rates of liberal arts colleges established prior to the Civil War. Rudolph (1962) claimed that "perhaps as many as seven hundred college tried and failed before the Civil War" (p.47). Rudolph based his claim on Tewksbury's discovery that there were 412 extinct college before the Civil War and "in the remaining 18 states with 78 surviving colleges, a comparable ratio would give approximately 309 fatalities" (p.47). Although Tewksbury's denominational influence thesis may apply to some states, it does not appear to apply to the founding and survival of early colleges in Oregon. Tewksbury's study may have been influenced by the local evidence of New York institutions in developing his generalizations.

Tewksbury's work has been accepted without question by many historiographers of higher education (Rudolph, 1962; Brubacher & Rudy, 1968; Hofstader & Smith, 1961; and Versey, 1965). According to Robert Pedersen (personal communication, January 16, 1997), "there is a strong belief among historians that although some of the information in Tewksbury's

study is accurate, it has been eclipsed by various historiographers in higher education". Although not directly refuting Tewksbury, American higher education historian David Potts (1971) states:

> Traditionally, colleges associated with various denominations are characterized largely in terms of sect-like religious zeal and are assigned the early nineteenth century as their period of importance. . . . It seems more likely, however, that the current historical conception of the denominational college more closely coincides with the realities of institutional development *after* rather than before 1850. (p.363)

Tewskbury (1932) states, "The field of the history of higher education is largely unexplored.... It is hoped that others will be induced to carry on research along these lines in order that the history of higher education may be more adequately represented and its values more fully appropriated by the leaders in higher education in this country" (Forward, p.v). Potts (1971) also makes this claim by stating that "The general contours of nineteenth-century collegiate development as found in the histories of American higher education, probably need substantial reexamination and extensive reshaping" (p. 363).

The purpose of this secondary analysis study was twofold: the first goal was to prove that too much weight was given to the role of religious denominations in the founding and survival of American colleges in the 19th century. The second goal was to further contribute to the history of higher education by reexamining the influences and conditions that led to the founding and survival of 19th century American colleges and universities. To meet these goals, this paper specifically used Oregon as a state case study.

Initially, an interest in pursuing this study came after reading the institutional history of Western Oregon State College, a public, four-year college that was originally founded in 1856, as a private university called Monmouth University (Stebbins & Huxford, 1995). The writer worked at Western Oregon State College in the institution's admission office from 1989-1995, and was intrigued by the perseverance of the college's early founders and their influence on the

development of Reed College in Portland, Oregon, a college which has achieved national recognition for its quality undergraduate liberal arts education (see Burton Clark's, The Distinctive College). Reed College, a private nondenominational institution, epitomizes Oregon's resistance to denominationalism's influence of its early private academies and colleges.

Both Rudolph's (1962) and Tewksbury's (1932) work and the references they cited were helpful in identifying the resources used to conduct this secondary analysis study. In addition, college and university histories, doctoral dissertations, and early Oregon state histories, chronologies, and atlases helped identify historical data related to the founding and survival of early colleges in Oregon.

In reviewing the literature, historical researchers of higher education have explored and identified the effects of other influences on the founding and survival of colleges beyond Tewksbury's traditional denominational thesis (Cunningham, 1983; Grandillo, unpublished work in progress; Lane, 1984; Naylor, 1973, and Potts, 1971). The use of Oregon as a case study state to challenge Tewksbury's denominational influence has been predicated by the following historiographers of higher education (Dodds, 1977; Lane, 1984; and Pedersen, personal communication, January 16, 1997). Gordon B. Dodds (1977), in his book, Oregon: A Bicentennial History, discussed Oregon's independence from religious influence:

> In institutional religion Oregon has the second-lowest percentage of any state... A people without sharp ethnic or class divisions, a people of conservative collective personality, and one whose natural environment is generous, need not depend upon religion for social control . . . (p.220)
>
> Nor was there in Oregon a particularly large interest in traditional religion, and church membership, even among the Methodists in the years before the Civil War, remained very low. (p. 106)

Marilyn Alice Lane, in her 1984 dissertation from the University of Oregon, entitled College Closure: A Comparative Study of Six Oregon Colleges, 1842-1930 chronicled other influences on college founding in Oregon:

> Although religious thought and religious controversies stimulated college founding in the 1800s, there were other forces at work. . . . Communities anxious to have a college, institute, or academy, were either not concerned with denominationalism or explicitly avoided denominational control. The four colleges or academies founded independent of denominational control before Oregon became a state were Oregon Academy, LaCreole Academy, Jefferson Institute, and Corvallis College. (pp. 16-17)

According to Lane, "Democratization, professionalism, urbanization, increased interest by state and federal government, and the development of new curricula of a practical or scientific nature all led to important changes in institutions of higher education... It is against this background that the development of higher education in Oregon needs to be explored" (p. 12). By examining The Chronology of Oregon Schools , (Constance, 1960) and the Oregon Biennial Report (Oregon Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1st -15th, 1873-1902), Lane (1984) concluded that 86 colleges and academies were founded in Oregon during the nineteenth century (p. 28). She further concluded that 58 institutions (67%) were founded in the last three decades of the nineteenth century from 1870-1900, after the Civil War. Nearly 40% of these 58 colleges "were founded independent of denominational control" (p.26). Chronological institutional tables have been developed that identify college founding and closing dates to inform the reader of the diversity of higher educational institutions that were founded in Oregon before and after the Civil War. In some instances, institutions merged or there was shift in initial control (See Appendix).

Another reason to use Oregon as a case study state, according to Robert Pedersen (personal communication, January 16, 1997):

> Oregon had geo-political significance in the 1850s, and this likely influenced American interests to firmly establish themselves in the state at the earliest possible date. The boundary with Canada was unclear at this time, and the British did have a claim on what is now Washington state. Oregon was a critical buffer between the British and Russians (in Alaska) and the gold fields in the isolated northern counties of California. Since we [the US] had no Pacific navy at the time to protect our interests, settlement was the next best strategy.

Pedersen's discussion of protecting the United States' interests through settlements in Oregon is heavily supported in Steven Ambrose's 1996 book titled Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the opening of the American West which chronicled the need for settlement in the Oregon Territory prior to statehood in 1856.

This paper hypothesized that influences other than religious denomination, had more of an impact on college founding and survival in Oregon. In addition, how Tewksbury determined which institutions to include in his study was examined. Tewksbury (1932) only considered colleges for his study that were "legally empowered to confer degrees in the liberal arts" (p.30). According to Lane (1984), "His list included institutions that bore the name college, university, seminary, or institute" (p.4). Naylor (1973) and Lane (1984) both refuted Tewksbury's list because they claimed that many institutions chartered during the nineteenth century received charters that gave them the authority to confer baccalaureate degrees even though many of them did not initially confer such degrees. (Naylor cited in Lane, 1984, p.4). Tewskbury however, excluded many of these early academies, that later became colleges, from his study. A significant number of these incorporated private schools were established through educationally-minded individuals and were chartered by the Oregon Legislature as colleges. These academies could own and control property, receive gifts and endowments, engage and dismiss teachers. Some of these academies evolved into public normal schools and public as well as private colleges.

Six institutions were founded prior to the Civil War, all which still exist today (See Appendix). Tewksbury (1932) only identified two institutions, Willamette University (1853) and Pacific University (1854). "In Oregon's first 100 years about 125 [academies] started; several fully accredited still function" (Corning, 1956, p.1).

The literature identified five influences that prove to have greater weight than Tewksbury's denominational influence on the founding, community and financial support, control, and survival of early colleges in Oregon. These influences include: (1) the effects of local boosterism, geographic location and population density of pre-statehood and early statehood settlements (Carey, 1971; Grandillo, unpublished work in progress; Lane, 1984; and Potts, 1971); (2) the rise of the middle class and its demand for practical education (Lane, 1984 and Rudolph, 1962); (3) the development of regional, state, and nationwide transportation systems (Carey, 1971; Gordon, 1996 and Throckmorton, 1961); (4) the increased involvement and control of Oregon's higher education institutions by state government through the use of ballot initiatives and the referendum process (Carey, 1971; Cunningham, 1983 and Dodds, 1977) and (5) Oregon's limited support for the development of public secondary schools and community colleges (Claxton, 1912; Cubberley, 1934; Dodds,1977; Lacey, Reuter, and King, 1995, and Pedersen, personal communication, January 16, 1997). Each influence was analyzed in terms of the implications that they had on the founding and survival of colleges in Oregon from 1840-1932. This time period was selected because it is during this time when the majority of academies, colleges and universities were founded, closed or survived in Oregon.

Three distinct periods between 1840 and 1932 were identified that chronicle the founding, demise and survival of colleges and universities in Oregon. These include: (a) the pre-railroad era (1840 - 1868) that depicts Oregon's early academies and colleges as quasi- denominational; (b)

community support (1869 - 1904), a period that depicts Oregon's colleges and universities as institutions with tremendous community support and local control; followed by a period of increased state involvement (1905- 1932), when the state legislature took control of its normal schools that historically were controlled by local boards of trustees. State control of the normal schools and state universities culminated with the passage of the Zorn-Macpherson Initiative of 1932, a public referendum that created a state board and state system of higher education.

Pre-Railroad Era (1840 - 1868)

Influences of Local Boosterism, Geographic Location and Population Density of Oregon's Pre-Statehood and Early Statehood Settlements

When researching the founding and survival of colleges it is important to explore the effects that geographic location and population density had on these early colleges. Specifically in Oregon, "Most early settlers in the valley were farmers seeking land under the Donation Land Acts of 1850 and 1855, which granted a generous 640 and 320 acres per family respectively. The result was a scattering of settlement and a proliferation of small towns" (Atlas of Oregon, 1976, p. 42). According to Lane (1984):

> In the nineteenth century, Oregon attracted settlers for a variety of reasons: expansionists wanted the nation to span the continent; merchants interested in the Orient saw the area as a trading outlet; farmers were impressed with the fertile soil, especially in the Willamette Valley; and town-builders saw advantages in owning land that would economically benefit them in the future. (p. 22)

David Potts (1971) discusses how localism served as a primary influence for college founding throughout America. According to Potts, "For most of these institutions with founding dates prior to 1850 this degree of denominationalism is a departure from the primary role played by localism in founding and nurturing these educational enterprises during their earlier years" (p.

363). The success or failures of early settlements and towns in the Oregon Territory before statehood were often based on "decisions about services and institutions, and where to locate them" (Oregon Atlas, 1976, p.42). Towns that encouraged and supported the development of colleges and universities during this period, had a better chance of survival than other early settlements. According to Carey (1971), General History of Oregon Through Early Statehood:

> Indeed a community which could not boast a college, an institute, or at least an academy at this time was apt to be held in low esteem by its cultured neighbors, and the citizens vied with one another for the honor of a trusteeship in some educational institution, as the highest social distinction that the territory was able to bestow. (p.716)

Rivalries occurred between towns to have colleges located in their communities. This phenomenon was documented in Watt Andrew Long's (1932) Master's thesis entitled History of Pacific University:

> At a meeting of the board of trustees of the Pacific University and Tualatin Academy held in Forest Grove on April 12, 1854, Mr. Griffins offered 200 acres of land and funds if the school should be located at East Plain in Washington County. Later the people of East Plain offered 720 acres of land and $3,950. To counter the offer of their rival, the people of Forest Grove and vicinity pledged $6,500 to the college. This contribution was made with the understanding that the institution should remain in Forest Grove. (Long, cited in Lane, 1984, p.25)

The towns of Salem (1844), Forest Grove (1846) Dallas (1849), Albany (1850), Corvallis (1852), Monmouth (1853), and McMinnville (1853), were all developed prior to Oregon's statehood in 1859. All of these towns included the development of colleges within their communities. Many of the colleges that were founded in these towns were named after them which indicates the high level of community support that these towns had in the founding of these early academies and colleges (See Appendix). According to Potts (1971):

> The fundamental element in college-founding was the alliance forged between college promoters and a particular town or county. Initially, this alliance was usually expressed in terms of the promoters agreeing to locate the college in a particular community in return for a sum of money raised within that community. (p.367)

Based on Oregon's early history, community support for its early colleges aligned itself with Pott's hypothesis of strong community support for its colleges.

Influences of a Practical Curriculum:

Another important influence focused on the demand from the emerging middle class for educational reform through a more practical curriculum. According to Lane (1984), early colleges focused their curricula on classical studies. "As the development of colleges expanded westward, the need for a practical education increased" (p.19). She further states that "Goals of university curricula had more direct leanings toward practical public service, research, and utilitarian education" (pp. 20-21). The need for a practical curriculum was promoted by Philip Lindsley of the University of Nashville. According to Rudolph (1962), Lindsley's "idea of what an American college or university was and could be, his commitment to intellectual excellence, [and] his rejection of denominationalism [served] as a secure basis for a great institution" (p.117). According to Rudolph, "he [Lindsay] concluded that 'our busy, restless, speculating money-making people' required colleges as scattered and mobile as the American people themselves" (p. 49). Lindsay's remarks mirror the mobility of Oregon's early settlers as well as their desire to establish colleges prior to statehood.

Community Support (1869-1904)

Influences of Transportation Systems

The development of transportation systems in Oregon influenced the founding and survival of Oregon's early colleges. Both river and railroad transportation systems were explored.

River Transportation

Oregon rivers served as the state's first internal system of communication and transport. Settlements on Oregon rivers grew quickly. A letter to the editor of the Milwaukie Western Star, published on December 25, 1850 states: "Oregon City is blessed by a vast amount of water power... it has also (sic) two flouring mills... A courthouse was under construction, has also (sic) a female seminary and a Baptist college" (Carey, 1971, p. 650). Tables 1 and 2 summarize how transportation systems influenced population growth in Oregon as well as its effect on where colleges were founded.

Table 1
State Population in Oregon 1849-1870
(Source: Carey, 1971, p. 753)

Decade	State Population
1849	9,000
1850	13,294
1860	52,465
1870	90,923

Table 2
Transportation's Influence on College Founding in Oregon
(Source: Carey, 1971, pp.659-666)

Town	River Access	College	Extant (founding dates)	
Salem	Willamette	Oregon Institute	Willamette University	1844
Forest Grove	Tualatin	Tualatin Academy	Pacific University	1848
Albany	Willamette	Albany Academy	Lewis & Clark College	1853
Corvallis	Willamette	Corvallis College	Oregon State University	1858
Monmouth	Willamette	Monmouth University	W. Oregon University	1856
McMinnville	Yamhill	McMinnville Academy	Linfield College	1855

Table 2 clearly shows that colleges that were built in towns along river transportation routes became densely populated and had greater survival rates than in towns without transportation access.

Railroad Transportation

The development of the railroads brought the discussion of a transcontinental route leading to the Pacific Ocean via Oregon. According to Carey (1971), " no chapter of events is more important to a review of the development of the Oregon Country than that which shows the part that the prospects for the coming of railroads had in this story" (p.749). Sarah Gordon, a railroad historian, in her 1996 book, Passage to Union: How the Railroads Transformed American Life, states:

> The recognition that a railroad could be put down anywhere and draw investment funds to any region coincided with the election of James K. Polk in 1844. . . . He [Polk] settled a treaty dispute with Britain which brought the Oregon Territory into the Union. It was in the first year of the Mexican War, 1846, that Asa Whitney of Michigan first petitioned the United States Congress for permission to build a railroad to the Pacific Ocean. . . . But sectional strife, notably between slave and free states, made it impossible to settle on a Western railroad route that would suit the conflicting commercial interests of both North and South. (p.34)

After the Civil War ended, railroad systems emerged in Oregon. In his book, Oregon Argonauts: Merchant Adventurers on the Western Frontier, Throckmorton (1961) provides a summary of how the railroads marked the end of the frontier era. "Railroad building in the Willamette Valley began seriously in 1868. . . the advent of railroad building and the rise of foreign commerce in 1869 so altered the old system as to mark the end of distinct period of pioneering that had stretched across three decades of the history of the Oregon Country from 1839 to 1869" (pp. 315-316). Later, from the 1880's to 1920's, the railroads would dominate transportation and the location of new towns and the founding of private academies that developed independent of religious control. Railroads had local and continental significance because they opened up large areas of fertile farmlands not accessible to river commerce." (Atlas of Oregon, 1976, pp. 42-43).

Increased State Involvement (1905 -1932)

Influence and Control by State Government

During the early years of settlement in Oregon through the remainder of the nineteenth century, the public's view of the importance of higher education and the understanding of its value appeared quite limited. According to Dodds (1977), "higher education also did not encompass many students. Several small academies, such as the Oregon Institute, which became Willamette University at Salem, grew up but their influence was small" (p.106). He contends that Oregon's early higher education system was not a product of the Oregon environment in terms of structure or objectives; "In their commitment to education Oregonians were not ungenerous, given the lack of material resources of an underdeveloped region. They wanted a literate citizenry for pragmatic reasons: to provide social cohesion, vocational opportunity, and an informed electorate..." (p.106). This philosophy led to the development of direct popular legislation.

J. David Cunningham in his 1983 dissertation titled, The Zorn-Macpherson Initiative, 1932: A Study of the Development of Higher Education in Oregon, discussed how state government influenced the development of higher education:

> The method of direct popular legislation commonly called the 'Oregon System', dates from about 1892. The initiative and referendum were added to the State Constitution in 1902. . . . While Oregon was not the first state to adopt these forms of direct legislation, popular acceptance and frequent usage has made this approach to government part of the Oregon tradition. (Cunningham,1983, pp. 6-7)

Beginning in 1902, the use of direct popular legislation though ballot initiatives and the referendum process was developed (Vexler, 1979). Direct popular legislation had become a viable way to regulate and control public higher education through the direct action of its citizenry. According to Cunningham (1983), "the referendum with reference to higher education was

invoked four times between 1905 and 1932. Three earlier initiative petition campaigns were concluded in the same period in attempts to bring about educational change" (p.7). He further states, " Oregon, as the other Western States, had grown and prospered during the final quarter of the nineteenth century, but State government had been unable to keep pace with the societal changes that the new prosperity fostered" (p.8) Public higher education, Cunningham notes, "developed a reputation as being one of the special interests rather than a public one". He contends that by 1902, Oregon had developed a public higher education system consisting of four normal schools, a land-grant institution, and a state university with programs in law and medicine (p. 9). According to Cunningham:

> This was a substantial education system for a state with a population of less than 670,000. . . . Agitation to decrease the number of normal schools was first an issue in the gubernatorial campaign of 1902. George E. Chamberlin, a Democrat with strong bipartisan support had been elected on a platform of reform and economy, favoring the direct legislation movement. His inaugural address called for the reduction of two normal schools. (p.9)

Due to strong local support from communities where the normal schools were located, Chamberlin's request was defeated. This defeat did not, however, stop the State government's attempt to control public higher education:

> Dissatisfied with his defeat in 1903, Governor Chamberlain urged the 1905 Session of the Legislature to substitute state control for local governance of the normals. . . . The Governor was joined by the long-time nemesis of public collegiate education--Harvey Scott, editor of the Oregonian, the most influential newspaper in the state. (Cunningham, 1983, p.10)

In response to Governor Chamberlain's request, the Omnibus Appropriation Referendum was developed. Cunningham (1983) provided the origin and rationale of the Referendum:

> The leadership for this referendum was provided by farmers from those communities of the lower Willamette Valley without public normals. There were a number of private academies or colleges in these communities and the cost issue helped fuel the resentment. This first effort at direct popular legislation in education was continually

> proded [sic] by newspaper editors who either opposed the normals on principle (i.e., Harvey Scott) or resented the unwillingness of the Legislature to respond to the apparent popular sentiment. (p.11)

Community financial support for the normals schools helped keep them operating until results of the popular legislation were determined. Cunningham (1983) summarizes the varied community support for Oregon's normal schools:

> In Ashland and Monmouth, citizens raised funds from private contributions to keep the schools open. In Drain, the voters passed a mill levy to finance their normal. Weston did not have the resources, and the school closed. The referendum failed badly in the June election of 1906. . . . The urban vote of Multnomah County assisted in the defeat. Many voters were not particularly interested in school issues and continued to support funding for State-supported institutions. The economics of prosperity and the optimism of an increasing urban population both worked against those who wished to restrict public spending. (p.12)

It is interesting to note that most counties that *opposed* the measure had normal schools within their counties or did not have either a public or private college or university within their county. Counties without normals schools who had private colleges or universities within their counties *supported* the measure to abolish Oregon's normal schools. Table 3 illustrates these results.

Table 3
Community Support for Normal Schools
(Source adapted from: Cunningham, 1983)

County	College or University	Control	Referendum Status
Coos	None		Opposed
Curry	None		Opposed
Clackamas	None		Supported
Douglas	Central Oregon State Normal School	Public	Opposed
Jackson	Southern Oregon Normal School	Public	Opposed
Klamath	None		Opposed
Linn	Santiam Academy and Albany College	Private	Supported
Marion	Willamette University, Mount Angel College & Monastery, Mount Angel Normal School	Private	Supported
Washington	Tualatin Academy and Pacific University	Private	Supported
Yamhill	Linfield College, Pacific College	Private	Supported

This small victory for the normal schools did not last long. According to Cunningham, (1983), in 1909, "the normal schools were also removed from local control by the establishment of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools. It was a board of six members appointed by the

Governor and included the State Board of Education as [an] ex efficio members" [sic] (p. 19). The Oregon State Legislature "abolished the meagerly supported three normal schools in 1909 and let the people select by initiative which they wished to retain. Only the college at Monmouth survived this test" (Dodds, 1977, p. 146). Cunningham contends that, "because of its long history, larger alumni, and location in a populated area of the State, it [Monmouth] was successful. Ashland and Weston were not" (p. 21) According to Dodds (1977), state appropriations for public higher education "were always inadequate and in some cases (were) referred to the people by members of the legislature" (p. 147).

Limited Community Support for Public Secondary Schools and Community Colleges:

The development of private academies in Oregon flourished from the 1840s until the turn of the century. Although some academies in Oregon were controlled by religious groups, several academies were developed independent of religious control (see Appendix). In his classic 1934 study, Public Education in the United States, Cubberly summarized the development of academies:

> While essentially private institutions, arising from a church foundation, or more commonly a local subscription or endowment, it in time became customary for towns, counties, and States to charter them and to assist in their maintenance, thus making them semi-public institutions. . . . These institutions rendered an important service during the first half of the nineteenth century, but were in time displaced by the publicly-supported and publicly-controlled American high school, the first which dates from 1821. (pp. 112-113)

In Oregon, private academies, unlike their public secondary school counterparts, had strong, community support. It was not until the 1920s, after the founding of a majority of Oregon's academies, colleges and universities had solidified that Oregon "passed compulsory attendance laws, required certification of teachers and gave more generous support to (K-12) education than in the previous era" (Dodds, 1977, p.146). According to Cubberly (1934):

> A few of the academies evolved into colleges. . . . They became educational centers wherever they were established, gave good preparation for college work, and educated many who never went to college. ... In religious matters, too, the academies also represent a transition. . . . they were usually kept free from the doctrines or any particular church. Bible reading, church attendance, and attendance at the chapel were insisted upon, but sectarian teaching was excluded. . . . Though this breaths a deep religious spirit it does not evidence a narrow denominationalism, and this was a characteristic of the academies. (pp. 249-251)

This is an accurate description of many of the academies founded in Oregon during the nineteenth century. Many of these early academies in Oregon evolved into colleges. (see Appendix). Strong community support for Oregon's academies and colleges was evident through the donation of land and funding to start these institutions. Public support for public secondary schools and community colleges by Oregonians was minimal for a variety of reasons, however, public school funding was of primary resistance (Claxton, 1912; Cubberly, 1934; Dodds, 1977; Lacey, Reuters, & King, 1995; Pedersen, personal communication, January 16, 1997). According to Carey (1971):

> ...whenever the subject was presented, to make the schools a subject of public concern, the private school was preferred to the public school for a considerable time. . . . There was for a time a prevalent belief, held by some of the most enterprising and patriotic Oregon citizens, that every man should educate his own children, and not tax others to do it. (p. 699)

"The first public high school opened... in 1869, although it was many years before this type of institution was regarded with general favor throughout the state" (Dodds, 1977, p. 106). Consequently, the academies and many of Oregon's early colleges took on the role of preparing students for college by creating college preparatory departments.

Public secondary schools were also criticized by the newspaper media. "This disapproval was fanned by twenty years of editorial opposition by Harvey W. Scott of the Portland Oregonian, who saw the public high school "as the creator of an over-educated class of 'drones'

and a 'powerful promoter of communism" (Oregon Atlas, 1976, p.38). It is interesting to note that Scott served on the Board of Trustees of Pacific University from 1902-1910 (Lane, 1984, p.104). Scott's trustee position at Pacific could have influenced his opposition to public secondary education in that Pacific University had a college preparatory program.

Support for public secondary schools was so limited that the state legislature tried to enact state laws to force students to attend public secondary schools. Lacey et al. (1995) chronicled these laws in the book, American Decades, 1920 -1929:

> During the early half of the 1920s, America debated the idea of forcing all students to attend public schools. The Ku Klux Klan and other groups wanted to close all parochial schools in Oregon, and the state legislature passed a law requiring that all students should attend public schools. (Lacey et al., p.8)

> The Oregon law aimed at closing all parochial schools and other private schools. In 1924, the Supreme Court declared the Oregon state law unconstitutional as unduly abridging the rights of parents to make a choice among schools (Pierce v. Society of Sisters of Holy Names, 268 U.S. 510 [1925]). (Lacey et al., p.13)

Limited public support for community colleges existed as well. Both Pense's (1966) and Pedersen's (personal correspondence, January 16, 1997) work on the historical development of community colleges chronicles Oregon's resistance to community colleges primarily because of Oregon's small population base and fear of "further division of the tax dollar" (Pense, 1966, p.34). According to Pedersen:

> Those unfamiliar with the history of Oregon higher education might expect that the state's growing cities, especially those in the Willamette Valley would have embraced the junior college, since few American communities were more isolated. But the valley, home to the majority of Oregonians in 1920, had been generously endowed with state-sponsored and denominational colleges at the time of its settlement in the mid-nineteenth century. As U.S. Commissioner of Education P.P. Claxton found in a 1912 survey of Oregon's higher education, eleven colleges were operating in a valley whose total population was no more than 160,000. Only two of the valley's schools, both state-governed, enrolled more than 500 students, while its nine private colleges averaged just 65 students each. (personal communication, January 16, 1997)

In terms of citizen response regarding the development of community colleges in their state, Pedersen again cited the Claxton study:

> Claxton, always an advocate of efficiency, concluded his survey by urging Oregonians to abandon their many small colleges in favor of few but stronger colleges--a reasonable suggestion by modern standards. Nevertheless, they rejected Claxton's recommendation, remaining loyal to their "system" of small and highly parochial colleges. . . .Not wishing to make matters even worse, they [Oregonians] reasonably chose not to sponsor a single public junior college. (personal communication, January 16, 1997)

Citizens in Oregon were not interested in supporting or funding public secondary system or community colleges due to their tremendous loyalty to its private academies. Community support of these private academies secured their survival. Even state law attempts to require students to attend public secondary schools were overturned giving citizens their right to choose where their children attended school.

Discussion and Analysis:

This secondary analysis identified five influences that resulted in the founding and survival of early colleges in Oregon from 1840-1932. It is important to note that Tewksbury's 1932 study did bring common definitions and order to the confusion over college founding dates, which still remains a serious problem in studying the history of higher education today. One limitation of this study was the use of secondary sources to determine college founding and closing dates. Often the secondary sources the author reviewed offered conflicting information. Future researchers are encouraged to use primary data sources, such as original college charters, to validate college founding dates. Examining college charters and state archives will provide researchers with more accurate information than secondary sources allow. A continuing challenge facing future researchers is the ability to get accurate data on college closing dates. Much of the data on college closing dates for this study was obtained from secondary sources. Often the

information on the year an academy or college closed was not reported to state officials and therefore is unknown.

Conclusion:

This paper hypothesized that influences other than religion played a far more important role in the founding and survival of early colleges and universities than most historians have acknowledged. This study found that the conditions that led to the founding of American colleges and universities in the 19th century did not necessarily provide the vision to keep these colleges open. In examining the conditions that led to college founding, historiographers of higher education need to distinguish between influences that *encouraged college founding* from influences that *encouraged college survival*. In Oregon, quasi-denominationalism, along with a high level of community support for these early institutions encouraged their founding. However, when using Oregon as a case study, the influences that served as precursors to college founding differed greatly from the influences that encouraged college survival. The five influences that encouraged college founding and secured college survival in Oregon that the author identified were: (a) strong local boosterism; (b) increased enrollment by the middle class and its demand for practical education; (c) the development of regional, state, and nationwide transportation systems (river transport and railroads); (d) increased state-level control of Oregon's normal schools and state universities, and (e) Oregon's limited public support from its citizens for public secondary schools and community colleges.

In Oregon, institutional survival of its 19th century colleges was the result of many supporters and influences. The degree to which an institution continued to serve its diverse supporters determined its survival. When an institution's alliance to its supporters ceased, it died. Through this study, many institutions in Oregon proved adept at alliance building by adapting to

the evolving influences of their supporters in order to survive. Historical studies on college founding and survival can provide assistance to colleges and universities today by identifying the influences that encouraged college founding and survival in the past. These studies can provide insights into forces that influence college survival today. The author encourages other researchers to examine the historical influences and conditions that encouraged the founding and survival of colleges in other states. As we enter a new millennium, identifying what influences encourage college survival in the past may shed light on their continued survival in the future.

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Institutional Founding, Closing Dates & Initial Control-- Appendix

Institution	Year Founded/Closed	Initial Control	Extant
Oregon Institute	1844	Methodist	Willamette University
St. Joseph College	1844/1849	Catholic	
St. Paul's Mission Female Seminary	1844/1852	Catholic	
Oregon City Seminary	1847/1862	Methodist	
Tualatin Academy	1848	Congregational	Pacific University
Young Ladies Academy	1848/1853	Catholic	
Oregon Academy	1850/1852	Independent	
Oregon City University	1850/1856	Baptist	Charter was transferred to McMinnville Academy
Union Academy	1851/1856	Presbyterian	
Bethel Academy	1852/1856	Independent	merged with Monmouth Univ. (Christian College)
Portland Academy and Female Seminary	1852/1878	Methodist	

Institutional Founding, Closing Dates & Initial Control
(Appendix)

Institution	Year Founded/ Year Closed	Initial Control	Extant
Albany Academy	1853	Presbyterian	Lewis and Clark College
Santiam Academy	1854/1903	Methodist	
Umpqua Academy	1854/1888	Methodist	
McMinnville Academy	1855	Baptist	Linfield College
Monmouth University	1856	Discples of Christ	Western Oregon University
Corvallis Institute	1856/1859	Baptist	
Columbia College	1856/1860	Presbyterian	
La Creole Academy	1856/1900	Independent	Merged with Lafayette Seminary to become Dallas College in 1900
Jefferson Institute	1857/1899	Independent	
Monville Institute	1857/1858	Congregational	
Sublimity College	1857/1860	United Brethren	Reopened in 1863; closed in 1871
Corvallis College	1858	Methodist	Oregon State University
St./ Mary's Academy & College	1859/1930	Catholic	College division became Marylhurst College in 1930

Institutional Founding, Closing Dates & Initial Control (Appendix)

Institution	Year Founded/ Year Closed	Initial Control	Extant
Philomath College	1865/1929	United Brethren	
St. Mary's Academy (Jacksonville)	1865/1908	Catholic	
St. Mary's Hall	1866/1889	Catholic	
Baker City Academy	1869/1885	Independent	
St. Helen's Hall	1869/1947	Episcopal	
Skinner's Butte Academy	1869/1871	Independent	
Bishop Scott Grammar and Divinity School	1870/1904	Episcopal	
Independent German School	1870/1896	Independent German School Association	
St. Michael's College	1871/1928	Catholic	
Ashland College	1872	Methodist	Southern Oregon State College
St. Mary's Academy (Salem)	1872/1880	Catholic	

Institutional Founding, Closing Dates & Initial Control-- Appendix

Institution	Year Founded/ Year Closed	Initial Control	Extant
Blue Mountain University	1873/1876	Methodist	Reopened in 1879; closed in 1884
Columbia City Academy	1873/1885	Independent	
International Academy	1875/1891	Evangelical	
Principal Academy	1875/1879	Independent	
University of Oregon	1876	State University	
Drain Academy	1879/1908	Methodist then State Controlled	
Linnean Academy	1879/1882	Independent	
Marshfield Academy	1879/1885	Independent	
Oakland Academy	1880/1890	Independent	
Sheridan Academy	1880/1884	Methodist	
Wasco Independent Academy	1880/1893	Independent	

Institutional Founding, Closing Dates & Initial Control (Appendix)

Institution	Year Founded/ Year Closed	Initial Control	Extant
Lakeview Institute	1882/1890	Presbyterian	
Pendelton Independent Academy	1883/1889	Independent	
St. Joseph's College (Baker)	1883/1885	Catholic	
Friends Pacific Academy	1885	Friends (Quakers)	became George Fox College in 1949
Leighton Academy	1885/1889	Episcopal	
St. Francis Academy and College	1885/1905	Catholic	Unclear what year College division closed
State Normal School (Weston)	1885/1909	State	
Flora Academy	1886/1899	Independent	
Milton Academy	1886/1892	Seventh Day Adventist	
St. Francis Academy (Portland)	1886/Unknown	Catholic	Unclear what year, but before 1946
Baker City Normal & Business College	1887/1905	Independent	

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Institutional Founding & Closing Dates & Initial Control (Appendix)

Institution	Year Founded/ Year Closed	Initial Control	Extant
Mt. Angel College	1887/1974	Catholic	
Mt. Angel Seminary	1887	Catholic	Mt. Angel Seminary
St. Joseph Academy (The Dalles)	1887/1905	Catholic	
DeMoss Springs Seminary	1888/1890	United Brethren	
Joseph Academy	1888/1890	Independent	
Mt. Angel Normal School	1888/1974	Catholic	
North Pacific Academy	1888/1892	Seventh Day Adventist	
St. Anthony Parochial School	1888/1913	Catholic	
College of Philomath	1889/1906	United Brethren (Radical Division)	
Lafayette Seminary	1889/1914	Evangelical	Merged with La Creole Academy to become Dallas College in 1900
Mt./ Angel Academy	1889/1974	Catholic	

Institutional Founding, Closing Dates & Initial Control--(Appendix)

Institution	Year Founded/ Year Closed	Initial Control	Extant
Pendleton Academy	1889/1893	Presbyterian	Reopened in 1895; closed in 1909
Portland Academy	1889/1916	Independent	
Coquille College	1890/1905	Independent	
Oregon Academy of Sciences	1891/unknown	Independent	chartered date listed in Biennial Reports--no closing date listed
University of Portland	1891/1900	Methodist	
Friends Polytechnic Institute	1892/1896	Friends (Quaker) Salem Quarterly Meeting	
Mineral Springs Seminary & Business College	1892/1902	Presbyterian	Reopened in 1906; closed in 1908
Cove Normal School	1894/1895	Episcopal	
Scared Heart Academy (LaGrande)	1894/1935	Catholic	
Yaquina Institute	1894/1895	Independent	
Eugene Divinity School	1895	Christian	Northwest Christian College

Institutional Founding, Closing Dates & Initial Control (Appendix)

Institution	Year Founded/ Year Closed	Initial Control	Extant
Middle Oregon Baptist Academy	1895/1904	Baptist	
Taylor's Normal School	1895/1900	Christian	
Liberal University	1896/1903	Liberal	
Wallowa Academy	1896/1898	Independent	Reopened in 1899; closed in 1901
Prineville Academy	1897/1900	Independent	
Summer Normal School	1898/1900	Independent	
Canyonville Academy	1899/1905	Independent	
Grande Ronde Normal School	1899/1901	Episcopal	
Roseburg Academy	1899/1905	Independent	
Portland University	1901	Roman Catholic	University of Portland
Reed Institute	1910	Independent	Reed College

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